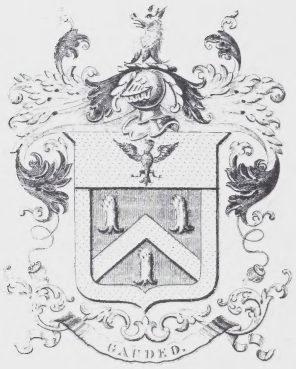
The Millennium:

Christianity in the Americas



John Carter Brown
Library
Brown University

The Millennium:

Christianity in the Americas

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Christianity in the Americas

AN EXHIBITION AT THE
JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
May – September 2000

Prepared by

DENNIS CHANNING LANDIS

THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
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Church of England. [Book of Common Prayer. Mohawk].
The Book of Common Prayer...Translated into the Mohawk language.
London, 1787 (no. 54).

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This exhibition of books, maps, and images from the John Carter Brown Library commemorates two thousand years of Christianity.

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Preface

The closing year of the twentieth century, 2000, is much less an occasion for secular celebration than it is for the observance of the two millennia of *Christian* history. The very calendar as we use it in the West is a revision by the Christian church of the ancient Egyptian-Roman calendar, tailored to a regular observance of Easter. It is now a universal calendar because of the needs of international commerce and information exchange, but it still co-exists with other calendric systems such as the Chinese, the Jewish, and the Muslim calendar.

The most complete millennial exhibition, in our view, would be a visual and textual statement about the vast panorama of Christian heritage. It would include fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hamadi library, early manuscripts of the traditional Greek and Hebrew scriptures, illuminated texts from the medieval monasteries of Europe, handwritten and printed Papal bulls on parchment and on paper, formulaic indulgences from the early press, the Gutenberg Bible, the earliest polyglot and vernacular Bibles, a world of printed confessionals, hymnals, catechisms, and prayer books in staggering numbers, and appropriate painted, woodcut, and engraved images reflecting Christian piety.

An exhibition at the John Carter Brown Library, however, is necessarily focused on its subject strength, the European encounter with the Americas from 1492 to about 1830. As Europeans began expanding their world into the Americas in 1493, they also disseminated the message of Christianity, developing it for the first time into a world religion, and forever transforming the American continent. With Spanish missionaries came the first printing presses in America, harnessing this technology for the advancement of religious teaching and practice. Portuguese, French, Dutch, English, and German missions would follow, and the products of American

presses from 1539 to the 1830s testify to the intensity of the effort and the breadth of their reach. The current exhibition is thus an ideal opportunity to emphasize the great era of Christian missions in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries and the development of many kinds of Christian communities, Catholic and Protestant, in the New World. Books telling *about* missions and books that were themselves instrumental in proselytizing are especially relevant, but so too is every book reflective in some way of Christianity's legacy in the New World, whether in architecture, education, social welfare, literature, or law.

Some of the landmark European and American publications of this era have been gathered for this purpose from the stacks of the John Carter Brown Library. These range from the printed Columbus letter of 1493, and the Papal bull that launched Spanish missions, to the first Indian and European-language Bibles printed in North America by Protestants. The exhibition serves as a commemoration of Christianity's two-thousand-year history by focusing on its impact on the Americas, and drawing on the Library's rich collections. The exhibition is conceived in a roughly chronological fashion, allowing one to see something of what different Protestants and Catholics and various nationalities were thinking or doing in the same period.

Also included in the exhibition are works of millenarian expectation, often focused on thoughts of a special American role in an unfolding final plan. Missions were never purely incidental to European expansion or—as sometimes thought—a cynical and hypocritical justification for it, but were taken to be a divine admonition, as recorded in the first books of the New Testament. Indeed, the gospels stipulate that this effort at conversion will proceed before the final end of the world. Millenarian fervor in many forms of expression may be found throughout the long histories of the Catholic and Protestant churches.

Even the Christian calendar itself became an American topic because of the calendar reforms enacted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, correcting the year by ten days and setting new standards for leap years. These reforms were as important for the Spanish colonies as they were for Catholic Europe, bringing forth a publication in Lima, the *Pragmatica sobre los diez dias del año*, a work of extreme rarity, tightly bound with other pamphlets, and not displayed for conservation reasons.

The raw material beckoning to anyone assembling an exhibition such as this includes above all the vast field of catechisms and confessional manuals developed by Catholic missionaries, as well as the vocabularies and grammars of indigenous American languages that some regarded as the essential tools of conversion. Many of these books appeared in an exhibition focused on the topic of language itself in 1997, or in the Library's 1987 exhibition, "The Book in the Americas"; only the highlights of those wonderful selections could be shown here. Two of those remarkable books are Sahagún's Aztec hymnbook of 1583 and the Lima *Confessionario* of 1585, showing text on the Ten Commandments in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymará on the same page. Another rich opportunity was being able to show one of the Testerian catechisms surviving from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The hieroglyphics attributed to Father Testera in Mexico—the subject of a dissertation by a JCB fellow in 1985—were a kind of shortcut to the teaching of Christian belief.

Still another key area for exploration was the ideal Christian communities Spanish missionaries worked at forming in Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, and elsewhere. Here, Bartolomé de las Casas, Juan de Zumárraga and Vasco de Quiroga are all important figures. Zumárraga's work is also one of the few extant works from the earliest American press, established in Mexico City in the 1540s. Las Casas is of course a much larger topic in his own right, and it was essential to use at least one book representing his important human rights work on behalf of the indigenous peoples.

Religious minorities also form an area of particular interest and so this has been an opportunity to present material on the French Protestant colony in sixteenth-century Florida, on persecuted Quakers in New England, and the agricultural community of Jews in eighteenth-century Suriname. Similarly, it is a time to document those innovators who established religious tolerance—Roger Williams in Rhode Island, and William Penn in Pennsylvania. Williams's *Key into the Language of America* is likewise a wonderful demonstration of the language of the Narraganset Indians and interaction between two distinct populations. Yet another artifact in the exhibition represents the Mennonites, one of various Christian sects that found refuge in Pennsylvania. The *Ausbund,* the German hymnal used by the Mennonites and Amish in Pennsylvania, was printed in Germantown in 1742 and 1751 and is still in print today.

The Puritans, whom Roger Williams rebelled against, were a highly prolific group of Christians that poured out sermons like no other. Omitted for space reasons here are such essential building blocks of New England history as the 1648 Congregational *Platform of Church-Discipline,* which established the independent polity of Massachusetts churches, vital to New England history. Instead, I have included only the most fundamental landmark productions of the colonial Massachusetts press: first of all the Bay Psalm book (of which eleven copies are known), the oldest extant book printed in North America. Also displayed is the greatest marvel of the colonial New England press, the Eliot Indian Bible, the first complete Bible printed in the Americas, from the 1660s. The translation of this Bible into the Massachuset Indian language is similarly a huge achievement by the team of interpreters supervised by John Eliot.

Printing an entire English Bible was still a very large task, and no English Bibles would be printed in what became the United States until 1777. It was much easier and cheaper to import them from England. The very obvious roadblock to this international book-trade occurred when war broke out between Britain and her colonies. Three decades earlier, however, it was much harder to import Bibles from the interior of Germany, and Christopher Sower produced in 1743 the first American Bible in a European language.

The story of Christianity is not just one of white Europeans, but of course of the indigenous peoples throughout the Americas who were the subject of missions by Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, German, and Swedish and other missionaries. The artist portraying conversion of Indians by German-speaking Moravians shows generally interested converts, but delineates—for the benefit of observers at home in Germany—especially serious expressions on the faces of the two Indian assistants, conveying their appreciation of the gravity of the rite being performed on their countrymen.

The Christian story in the Americas is also one about Africans. There is a particularly rich visual record of the pioneering work of Moravian missionaries with African American slave populations. Before the Moravians, blacks had been much overlooked as objects of conversion, except in the New England colonies, where they were less numerous and more easily incorporated into religious observances, albeit with separate seating.

Literary achievements by blacks, especially by a black woman, demonstrate the power of reading, writing, and education, all

deemed important to evangelical Christianity. Of particular interest are two African-Americans who became slaves as children but achieved freedom through the process of becoming Christians. In each case, although they were "owned" as property, Phillis Wheatley and Olaudah Equiano were taught to read and write in the process used to make them Christians. In the view of the Protestant communities they lived in, reading the Bible was an essential part of Christian life. Both possessed literary skills and became published authors. Wheatley seems to have been freed perhaps because of her literary fame, but Equiano achieved his freedom through the exercise of business skills.

A topic permeating the entire exhibition, but given special focus in its final segment is eschatological expectation: end-time predictions. The last section begins with portrayals of the defeat of the Antichrist and of Judgment Day in the famous Nuremberg Chronicle. Next comes a Portuguese missionary's grim image of eternal torment, said to be helpful in winning the commitment of Brazilian Indians to baptism. Apocalyptic associations with America really begin with Columbus and may be found at the root of much of the early missionary fervor in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Settlements were prepared specifically to ready the Indian peoples for the final days and the life to come. Father Antonio Vieira, S. J., was one who thought Portugal would have a special role as Christianity's standard bearer into the Millennium. Apocalypticism reached particularly fervent expression among the theological writers of Puritan New England, who often expressed the view that America would play a special role in the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy from the Book of Revelation, and that the New Jerusalem would find its center somewhere near the place of their work.

Of special relevance for North Americans is the secular Apocalypse of the American Revolution, which some writers viewed in a strictly Biblical context, others in terms of a divinely ordained moral law that Britain had departed from, to its peril. Included is the first printed Rhode Island copy of the Declaration of Independence, the great document of that rebellion, which incorporates much religious language. Close to this broadside are sermons addressing the Revolution from theological standpoints, drawing comparisons between Americans and the ancient Hebrews, and viewing American independence as the fulfillment of prophecy.

The exhibition explores to some extent the differing applications of Catholic and Protestant missionary work, and the religious life of various nationalities, orders, and denominations in the colonial world. Achieving this task in completeness would be impossible, but I've tried to do representative justice to the JCB collections, too rich to fully comprehend. Only in such a collection could one afford to overlook such priceless exhibition candidates as the first Welsh concordance to the Bible, the founding regulations of the first university in the Western Hemisphere, or a step-by-step guide to current eighteenth-century events in apocalyptic terms. In this effort, I am grateful to the staff of the John Carter Brown Library, who were helpful in suggesting individual titles and who helped ensure the relative accuracy of the exhibition and this informal catalogue.

Dennis Channing Landis
Curator of European Books
John Carter Brown Library

The Millennium:

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Christian Innovations

Christianity as a movement transformed the thinking of the *ancient* world in a host of ways. Among the ideas introduced were:

- a new conception of the Divine,
- a radical new way of thinking about an afterlife,
- the notion of nobility in suffering,
- forgiveness rather than revenge for evils done,
- the idea that the Last shall be First (and thus advancing the cause of the poor, children, women, and even prostitutes and tax officials),
- a new personal relationship to the Divine,
- new roles for men and women (increasing the importance accorded the latter, and making the former more pacific),
- the idea of virtue in nonviolence and the introduction of restrictions to war,
- the innovation of monasticism as a way of life, and
- the reaffirmation of some of the finest moral precepts from the Classical and Judaic heritage.

When Europeans arrived in the *New World,* they introduced myriad concepts they associated with Christian life into wholly unfamiliar cultures.

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ALPHA: THE BEGINNING

"I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending."
Revelation I:8

1. Catholic Church
[Book of Hours. Latin]
[Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis]
[France, 16th century]

Shown in this early illuminated (hand-painted) manuscript is the birth of Jesus. For *Christians,* events in the life of Jesus of Nazareth are of ultimate concern and bear transcendent significance. For *historians of civilization,* his exemplary life and teachings and the changes wrought by his followers form a vast field of interest.

1493

2. Christopher Columbus
Epistola de insulis de nouo repertis
Paris, 1493

The explorer Columbus's report of his "discoveries" to the Spanish Crown was transmitted in manuscript to Rome, where it was promptly set in type. In that same year of Columbus's return from his first voyage, at least eight other editions appeared in European cities. This Paris edition presciently offers as a frontispiece a woodcut showing the Annunciation, along with verses heralding the great significance of the "discovery" for Spain. Columbus himself viewed his landing not merely as an important territorial and trading acquisition, but as a momentous spiritual event, in that it offered the opportunity to convert countless souls to the Christian faith. It was already apparent to this mystical intellect that Spaniards were to have a special role in God's eyes; in this same year they had conquered the centuries-old Islamic occupation force and had offered an

ultimatum of conversion or expulsion to the Jews long resident in Spanish lands. Now this new advance would further their cosmic significance by fulfilling apocalyptic predictions.

3. Hartmann Schedel
[Nuremberg Chronicle]
Liber chronicarum
Nuremberg, 1493

At the close of the fifteenth century, most Christians looked to Rome as the spiritual and administrative center of their religion. Paradoxically, a few decades later, as explorers began to create a new Spanish empire and plant Christianity in the Americas, the Catholic Church in Europe seemed in danger of becoming a mere Mediterranean sect, by some accounts on the path to a minority status among Christians. Lutherans, Calvinists, and other new Christian movements were advancing across Europe, utilizing the new technology of printing and capturing the popular imagination through their encouragement of a personal religious experience. Engaged in the reforming of Christianity within Europe, Martin Luther never wrote a word about any need to carry missions to other lands.

Nuremberg, Germany, a center of the Renaissance, accepted the Reformation in 1525. A great variety of Christian images are presented in the *Nuremberg Chronicle,* an illustrated early universal history printed by Anton Koberger. Shown here is a view of a crenellated, fortified Rome as pictured by a German artist.

4. Catholic Church. Pope, 1492-1503 (Alexander VI)
Copia dela bula dela concession...delas Indias
[Logroño, ca. 1511]

Spain's legal right to rule the Indies was based upon a grant by Pope Alexander VI in 1493, reproduced here in printed form about eighteen years later. The bull established a line of demarcation between Spanish and Portuguese acquisitions and set forth the responsibility to spread the right Christian faith among the people of these lands. The Church did not possess the ships and other worldly resources that would be required to missionize these "new" lands, and so turned that duty, its financing, and its administration over to the Spanish Crown as well.

5. [Novus orbis regionum]
Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum
Basel, 1532

According to Christian tradition, Saint Thomas, one of the Twelve Disciples of Jesus, took his mission as far as Parthia or India. When the Portuguese explorer Cabral landed in India in 1500, he encountered descendants of an ancient Christian mission, Nestorian Christians with no knowledge of the Pope or theological development in successive centuries. One of the narratives in the collection *Novus orbis regionum* offers an early account of these southern Christians.

1500

6. *Copia der newen Zeytung aus Presillg Landt*
[Nuremberg, 1514?]

The first printed account of Brazil was an agent's report to the renowned Fugger banking house of Augsburg. In addition to commercial notes, the publication remarks that the people of Brazil venerate Saint Thomas, evidently confusing the discoveries in different Portuguese trading factories, and providing one of the earliest suggestions in print that an inclusive worldwide mission in the past had touched America.

7. Francisco Xerez
Verdadera relacion de la conquista del Peru
Seville, 1534

The title page of this early book on Peru presents in woodcut illustration the clash of understanding between two great cultures. In this ceremonial moment, a religious representative of the forces under Pizarro has presented the Inca king Atahualpa with the Spaniards' most precious gift, a copy of the Bible. Atahualpa, for his part having no comprehension of the significance of the object, holds it aloft just prior to hurling it on the ground in contempt. This sacrilege aroused the wrath of the Spaniards, who would later slay the king while he was under their arrest.

8. Juan de Zumárraga
Dotrina breve muy p[ro]vechosa delas cosas q[ue] p[er]tenecen ala fe catholica y a n[uest]ra cristiandad
Mexico City, 1544

A century before printing began in New England, Spanish authorities established a press in Mexico City, the earliest in the American continent. The first publication was a book explicating Christian doctrine; just such a book was printed again in 1544. This is one of the eight books printed by Juan Pablos for Juan (or Johann) Cromberger in this first printing establishment. The colophon lists the place of imprint as Tenochtitlán, the city's ancient Aztec name.

The first Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga recognized the rural dispersal of Indians both as a problem for their orderly evangelization and a threat to their survival. Working in a period after the indigenous Caribbean populations had been decimated by slavery and disease, it was apparent that such unprotected individuals could easily be plucked up and taken to labor elsewhere. Instead, the Bishop proposed that they be resettled into villages with streets and squares like those in Spain. Then it would be simpler to relieve them of existing practices and inculcate Christian teachings, so that they might evolve into the sort of primitive Christian society that their appearance evoked.

9. Vasco de Quiroga
Reglas, y ordenanzas para el gobierno de los hospitales de Santa Fé, y Michoacan
Mexico City, 1766

A judge in Mexico and later the first Bishop of Michoacán, Vasco de Quiroga proposed in the 1530s that Indian communities be constructed along the ideal lines of Thomas More's *Utopia.* An institution designed to provide a social safety net was the *hospital,* much more than just a refuge for the sick. While awaiting royal approval, Quiroga contributed money of his own to establish this family-like institution. The *ordenanzas* were intended to put More's Utopian precepts into practice.

10. Sir Thomas More, Saint
[Utopia. English]
A fruteful and pleasaunt worke...called Utopia
London, 1551
[First Latin edition, 1516]

Quiroga's model was a fictional work set in the New World and mentioning Vespucci as a discoverer. The author of this widely circulated story was a loyal servant of Henry VIII who could not, however, accept the king's assumption of the Pope's role as head of the Christian church in England. More's religious integrity would prove fatal to him, but it would also lead to his canonization by the Roman Catholic church. In his "Utopia," diverse kinds of religion are available to people, but they gravitate toward Christianity because it appeals so much to reason.

1550

11. Jesuits
Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo
Rome, 1552

The first Jesuit mission to the Americas was launched in Brazil in 1549, under the care of Father Manuel da Nobrega and five others. An account of it appears in this collection of letters largely from Asian missions.

Ignatius Loyola had organized the Society of Jesus in the manner of a military company, putting special care into organization and discipline, and requiring epistolary reports, not only of missionaries' progress, but of flora, fauna, and anything they should choose to recount. The result in the many lands cultivated by Jesuits was a wealth of documentation that has been as valuable to generations of scholars as it was to the original churchmen.

12. Catholic Church
[Mexican catechism in Testerian hieroglyphs]
[Probably 18th century]

The acquisition of native American languages was an enormous, time-consuming task. Father Jacobo Testera is credited with developing a form of picture-writing to help speed the conversion process. Several Testerian catechisms from the 16th century have been preserved, as

well as copies made from originals in the 18th century. Three are held by the John Carter Brown Library. The catechisms include renderings of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other essential elements of spoken worship.

13. Bartolomé de las Casas
Aqui se contiene una disputa, o controversia entre el obispo don fray Bartholome de las Casas...y el doctor Gines de Sepulveda, coronista del Emperador nuestro Señor
Seville, [1552]

Originally a member of a colonial family in the Caribbean, Las Casas was a Dominican friar who worked to develop an ideal Christian community among Indians in Guatemala. In the face of ongoing abuse of native American rights, he took up the cause of agitating for the fundamental rights of indigenous peoples, eventually publishing a troubling series of accounts of colonial human rights abuses. Las Casas always proceeded from an understanding of Christian duty toward the Indians. His debate with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda went right to the heart of the issue of the Indians' suitability for conversion. Sepúlveda defended the traditional Aristotelian view that there were, beyond the fringes of civilization, beings incapable of rational thought, who were natural slaves.

14. Bartolomé de las Casas
Narratio regionum indicarum
Frankfurt a.M., 1598

The Dominican Las Casas labored for a consistent application of humane Christian values in Spain's colonies. His admonishing stories of Spanish New World atrocities were often reprinted in Protestant regions and amplified by vivid illustrations that etched his message into the memory of Europeans. In this de Bry engraving, the paradox of Spanish colonial behavior in the Encounter era is highlighted with dramatic intensity: a Franciscan monk offers absolution to an Indian burning at the stake, while Spanish horsemen with pikes pursue others. The Indian—the *cacique* Hatuey, a Cuban refugee from Hispaniola—asks the question that would be repeated in countless other publications: Would Spaniards be found in Heaven?

15. Girolamo Benzoni
[Historia del Mondo Nuovo]
Americae pars quarta
Frankfurt a.M., 1593
[Original edition: Venice, 1565]

The missionary endeavor in the early period was often conducted at great personal risk. This engraving by Theodor de Bry portrays the martyrdom of Spanish priests in the province of Cumaná. Indians in the region had become enraged after roving Spaniards went in search of pearls and women. All the Spaniards that could be found in Amaracapanna and along the seashore that Sunday were killed, including these monks who were conducting Mass. The account is from one of the many early stories recorded by Girolamo Benzoni and first published in Italian in 1565. The Milanese collected the accounts in the course of living in the Spanish colonies for fourteen years, possibly as a merchant.

16. Nicolas Le Challeux
Tweede scheeps-togt van Jean Ribald na Florida. In Verscheyde scheeps-togten na Florida door Pontius, Ribald, Laudonniere, Gourgues en andere
Leyden, 1706

French Protestants, facing persecution at home, tried founding a few colonies in unsettled Spanish territory during the mid-sixteenth century. The Huguenot colony in Florida was mounted under difficult conditions, misplaced hopes, and inadequate planning. In the end, it was brutally vanquished by Spanish soldiers. Stories carried home by survivors contributed to an image of Spanish cruelty.

17. Bernardino de Sahagún
Psalmodia christiana
Mexico, 1583

With the aid of four native assistants, the Franciscan father Bernardino de Sahagún prepared this collection of hymns in Nahuatl, the Aztec language of Mexico. It was the only songbook in Nahuatl printed in Mexico during the colonial period. Those directly involved

in evangelizing the Indians at this time reported that the use of their own language was vital to the task. Sahagún was also noted for producing an encyclopedic account of Aztec life and customs.

18. CATHOLIC CHURCH
Confessionario para los curas de Indios. Con la instrucion contra sus ritos
Lima, 1585

As Moses delivered the Ten Commandments to the Israelites, the Spanish fathers taught them to the peoples of Peru. This Confessional aid is opened to a presentation of the First Commandment, along with supporting questions in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymará on the same page. The production of this and related catechetical works was supervised by José de Acosta, in response to an urgent need by the orders at work in Peru.

Love God above all things.
(Thou shalt have no other gods above me)

19. JOSÉ DE ACOSTA
[Historia natural y moral de las Indias. German]
Neundter und letzter Theil Americae, darinn gehandelt wird von gelegenheit der Elementen/ Natur/Art und eigenschaft der Newen Welt
Frankfurt a.M, 1605
[Original edition: Salamanca, 1589]

The pathbreaking Jesuit José de Acosta recognized that it was vital to the missionary task to have a full understanding of Indian belief and practice, rather than working with a theorized "blank slate." In his "Natural and moral history," he sought to bring the same objective powers of observation to native Americans that he applied to the study of plants and animals. The result is an important ethnological record of the peoples to whom he ministered in Peru and Mexico. In this elegant German edition by Theodor de Bry, an engraved illustration portrays burial practices in Mexico.

Like other European observers, Acosta was sensitive to suggestions of links between Americans and the known of peoples of the earth before 1492. In his research into folklore and religious practice, he identified what seemed to be similar customs and stories, such as circumcision, creation, the Fall of Man, and the Flood.

1600

20. Edward Brerewood
Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions through the cheife parts of the world
London, 1614

Brerewood, the first professor of astronomy in Gresham College, London, attempted to review in this book the state of Christianity throughout the world. He described Japan as the only place in Asia with a considerable population of Christians, some 200,000; in fact, the year 1614 (following Brerewood's death) marked the beginning of severe persecution of Christians in Japan. The author commented at length on Christians in Spanish America, a region deemed comparable to Europe both in geographical area and in its population. There exist 7 to 14 million Christians there, he said, predominantly in Mexico. Noting the high baptism counts of individual priests (300,000 to 700,000), Brerewood took the usual English position on alleged conversions effected by Spanish Catholics, scoffing that the result could only be a veneer of Christianity.

21. Claude, d'Abbeville
Histoire de la mission des peres Capucins en l'isle de Maragnan
Paris, 1614

The Portuguese operated a huge network of trading centers in the 16th and 17th centuries throughout the world, and for a long time did not penetrate the interior of their Brazilian territory, nor control all of its coast. In the competitive environment for souls and commerce, others were likely to step into what appeared to be unused opportunities. Thus French trading and strategic objectives led to the installation in 1612 of a group of French Capuchins on the island of Maranhão, off Brazil, where no mission or colony had existed. However, the Portuguese claim had to be reckoned with, once a royal marriage in 1615 linked France with Spain and Portugal. The French gave up their colony.

The seemingly idealized illustration reflects an actual event, when the Frenchmen erected a cross, and all those present knelt in respect, the Indians demonstrating with such actions their apparent suitability for religious conversion.

22. Paul Le Jeune
Relation de ce qui s'est passe en la Nouvelle France en l'annee 1633
Paris, 1634

The Jesuit missions to the Indian nations of New France are chronicled in a long annual series of publications printed for several decades by the Cramoisy family and their successors. The title used in this 1634 book would serve as the model for each succeeding year, regardless of author. The Jesuit relations on their work with the Hurons, Mohawks, and Montagnais have proven to be vast resources of information for historians, anthropologists, geographers, and scholars in other fields.

23. Antonio de la Calancha
Coronica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Peru
Barcelona, 1639

Missionaries learned through hard experience that the way the Christian message was delivered needed to be carefully tailored to the understandings and ways of individual peoples. It was sometimes even necessary to refrain from showing a complete crucifix because of concerns about an unintentional association with existing customs of torture and execution. Antonio de la Calancha's *Coronica* is a valuable collection of ethnological and historical information on the Indians of coastal Peru and Augustinian missions there. Shown here is the martyrdom of brother Diego Ortiz in Vilcabamba.

24. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya
Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus en las provincias del Paraguay, Parana, Uruguay, y Tape
Madrid, 1639

The "Spiritual Conquest of Paraguay" was a very real battle conducted by this Jesuit author, who himself founded eleven of the ideal, protective settlements known as "reductions." Jesuits had joined Franciscans already working in Paraguay in 1585, and organized the communities to isolate the Guaraní people from forced labor and the corrupting influences of Spanish colonists. In such an environment, the Indians could focus on useful crafts and a serene life in Christ, much as associated with the golden age of the ancients. The Jesuits'

millennial objectives were repeatedly subject to attack by Portuguese and Spanish colonial interests, which saw their free Indian labor pool needlessly compromised. The political result was the expulsion of the Jesuits from both colonial realms in 1759 and 1767, respectively.

25. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya
Arte y vocabulario de la lengua guarani
Madrid, 1640

Ruiz de Montoya recognized the importance to conversion of training the Guaraní Indians to read and write in their own language. His study and work with the language resulted in a grammar and catechism, the first printed works in Guaraní.

26. Thomas Shepard
The sincere convert, discovering the paucity of true beleevers and the great difficulty of saving conversion
London, 1640

The Puritan writer Shepard, a veteran of Immanuel College, Cambridge, saw Christianity in a minority status in a world where "the three biggest parts are drowned in a deluge of prophanenesse and superstition" and one could read the "sentence of death" upon their heads. Europe had a chance of survival in a future state, but Italy, France, Spain and Germany, all being "Popish," were doomed. He thought the Grecian church to be trapped in practices other than the preaching necessary to its believers' salvation. Shepard served as pastor in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he helped John Harvard found a college in 1636. His diary provides a rich record of colonial life.

27. Jean Jacques Boissard
Bibliotheca chalcographica
Frankfurt a. M., 1650-54

This collection of engravings of important theologians and historical figures is open to the portrait of Johann Gerhard (1582-1637), one of the great representatives of Protestant orthodoxy. Gerhard read Acosta and other writers on the Americas and concluded that the indigenous peoples of the Americas had been Christianized long

ago, based on apparent vestiges of Judeo-Christian practice. As such, the task of missionizing them could be viewed as completed, even if they were now in a state of apostasy.

28. Fernando de Valverde
Santuario de N. Señora de Copacabana en el Peru
Lima, 1641

Copacabana, on lake Titicaca in Upper Peru (now northern Bolivia), was for the Incas the gateway to the ancient shrines of the Aymará. When Spaniards arrived, the local shrines were dis-established and the Dominicans made the village the base of their operations. A half century later, a few years after a statue of the Virgin was stationed there, the mission was turned over to the Augustinian order.

The engraved title page of this book was prepared by the Augustinian Francisco de Bejarano, who had been responsible for the first copper engraving in South America in 1612. Here the Virgin, a modified version of the Virgin of the Seventh Seal, appears above a global representation of the earth, showing South America and Peru. In the foreground, the devil chats with an Inca princess or noblewoman.

29. Bay Psalm Book
The whole booke of Psalmes faithfully translated into English metre. Whereunto is prefixed A Discourse declaring not only the lawfullnes, but also the necessity of the heavenly ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God
[Cambridge, Massachusetts], 1640

As in Mexico a century earlier, the first printing press in what is now the United States would also be an important vehicle of religious expression. There are eleven known copies of this earliest preserved product of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's press. The Bay Psalm Book thus occupies a position akin to the Gutenberg Bible for Germany. Because the text of the Psalms was carefully translated from the original Hebrew, it conveys a sense both of the popular idiom and its reverent poetic expression. The translation overseen by Thomas Welde, John Eliot, and Richard Mather is represented here by the Twenty-third Psalm.

30. Roger Williams
A key into the language of America
London, 1643

Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, was one of the first in New England to advocate the conversion of native Americans. This book was the fruit of his months of living among the Narraganset Indians. Aids to vocabulary on a host of subjects, much like a modern phrase book for travelers, reveal the extent of his communicative reach and the sensitivity he brought to colonial-aboriginal discourse. Williams believed the Puritans had fallen away from apostolic doctrine and discipline, and that the millennium would not arrive until these had been restored. Despite his early advocacy of evangelization, he arrived at the conclusion that the church, in its corruption, lacked the authority to make any new converts of Indians or others.

1650

31. Manasseh ben Joseph ben Israel
[*Mikveh Yisra'el*], *Esto es, Esperança de Israel*
Amsterdam, 5410 [i.e., 1650]

Efforts to comprehend the origins of the indigenous peoples of the Americas within a Biblical context led repeatedly to the idea that they might be descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Widely discussed in the 16th century and taken up again by in the 17th, the idea received fresh support when Antonio Montesinos, a Portuguese Jew, brought back from South America the story of a holy people secretly practicing Judaism there. The story was disseminated in print by Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel, who understood the full dispersion of the Jews to be a necessary step toward the coming of the Messiah.

32. Thomas Thorowgood
Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that race
London, 1650

Thorowgood received a French manuscript copy of Manasseh's exciting news prior to publication, and interpreted the story as a sign of the coming Millennium. As Jews emerged from their diaspora, making possible their conversion to Christianity, further steps

in Biblical prophecy might be attained. Thorowgood supported Manasseh's hope that Jews be readmitted to England, though for different theological reasons.

33. EDWARD BURROUGH
A declaration of the sad and great persecution and martyrdom of the people of God, called Quakers, in New England, for the worshipping of God
London, [1661]

Quaker missionaries came to the British colonies in the 1650s and soon experienced the limits of religious tolerance. Four, including Mary Dyer, were hanged in Boston, while another Quaker died from flogging in Virginia.

34. *Abbildung der zu Londen vorgangenen Execution wieder die rebellirende Quackers*
[Germany, 1661]

Thomas Venner, a cooper in Massachusetts, returned to England and became a preacher for a group of radical dissenters known as the Fifth Monarchy Men. This millenarian movement entertained the belief that political action could hasten the fulfillment of Biblical prophecies. At first enthusiastic about Cromwell's government, they became disillusioned and thought to overturn it in order to hasten the Fifth Monarchy predicted in the Book of Daniel. After Restoration of the monarchy in England, the group tried again to overthrow the government, to usher in the rule of Jesus. Many adherents were killed in the street or captured, and Venner was among those tried and hanged for treason.

35. BIBLE. MASSACHUSET. ELIOT. 1663.
Mamusse wunneet upanatamwe Up-Biblum God
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1663

The Eliot Indian Bible was a large colonial project utilizing Indian assistants and superintended by the great Puritan missionary John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians." This is the first edition of the first Bible printed in the New World, and the first instance of the translation and printing of the entire Bible in a new language as a means

of evangelism. The New Testament was printed in 1661 and the Old Testament in 1663. Eliot expected the communities of "praying Indians"—brought into direct contact with Christian doctrine through the printed and spoken word—to be models for the millennial age and even inspire those dwelling in old England.

36. William Penn
[no place, no date]
Engraving

Quaker fortunes improved toward the end of the 17th century, with the creation of a colony in Pennsylvania based on freedom of conscience, the passage of the Act of Toleration in England in 1689, and the development of important communities in New Jersey and Rhode Island. Quakers came to be closely identified with abolitionist causes.

37. Johann Hoornbeek
De conversione Indorum & Gentilium
Amsterdam, 1669

The Dutch Reformed theologian Hoornbeek wrote an entire book on the subject of conversion from his vantage point in the Netherlands. In large part a scholarly history of Christian missions, the work also contains a chapter on conversion methodology. A final chapter of this posthumous publication treats the effort of the Puritans Mayhew, Eliot, and Shepard in New England. The Dutch had begun training ministers for their colonies in the East in the 1620s and by 1668 achieved a Malay translation of the New Testament, the first such work in any language of Southeast Asia.

38. Gonzalo Andrés de Meneses y Arce
Ilustracion de la Rosa del Peru
Lima, 1670

The first American-born saint of the Roman Catholic Church was Isabel Flores, Saint Rose of Lima, who was beatified in 1667 and canonized in 1671. The degree of Rose's spirituality and devotion was expressed by a pattern of extreme self-denial and mortification of the flesh, an early and sustained personal choice.

39. Miguel Suarez de Figueroa
Templo de N. grande patriarca San Francisco de la provincia de los doze apostoles de el Peru en la ciudad de los Reyes
Lima, 1675

Throughout the Spanish colonial realm, institutions were founded that served not only the purpose of religious indoctrination, but also social welfare, health care, and education. Many were also architectural monuments—things of beauty—containing different forms of artistic expression. Shown here is the convent church of San Francisco in Lima, Peru, rededicated after suffering earthquake damage.

40. Martin Luther
[Kleiner Katechismus. Delaware and Swedish]
Lutheri Catechismus, öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket
Stockholm, 1696

A veteran of service in New Sweden, Johannes Campanius Holm prepared this catechism in a pidgin version of the Delaware Indian language. He included for reference the language of the Swedish Lutheran missionaries who were intended to use it. Printed in Sweden after his death, the book also includes several pages of vocabulary helps.

41. Claude Martin
La vie de la venerable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation...tirée de ses Lettres & de ses ecrits
Paris, 1677

Marie Guyard, born in France in 1599, became a widow after two years of marriage and joined the Ursuline order when her son was twelve. Moved by the spiritual plight of native Americans, she undertook in 1639 the perilous transatlantic voyage to the frontier settlement of Quebec. There she and her companions established the first Ursuline monastery on the American continent. Marie, as Mother Superior, undertook the study of Indian languages and dedicated herself to the schooling, care, and conversion of native American girls and young women. Her published letters are a valued source on the history of New France, and her life is recorded in a biography by her son, Claude Martin, who took orders as a Benedictine.

42. Increase Mather
A testimony against several prophane and superstitious customs, now practiced by some in New England
London, 1687

The evil habits Increase Mather preaches against here are none other than celebrations of Christmas and other holidays, stage plays, gambling, and the custom of drinking to someone's health.

When New Englanders had passed the first decades of struggle and deprivation, some of the old steady habits and discipline began to dissipate. Mather felt an obligation to the principles of the first generation and was shocked by those who would break the sabbath, put on wigs and false locks, or lapse into religious formalism. Mather thought the decline of Indian fortunes in King Philip's War was a sign of the advancing apocalypse (the "red horse" of Revelation VI:4). With other signs in place, such as rising conversions among Indians and Jews, he advised New Englanders to mend their ways in preparation for the imminent return of Christ to earth.

1700

43. Cotton Mather
Magnalia Christi Americana: or, The ecclesiastical history of New-England
London, 1702

The prolific English theological writer Joseph Mede guessed in 1650 that New England would be the place that Gog and Magog would appear at the end of the thousand-year reign to lead the forces of destruction, as prophesied in the Book of Revelation. Quite to the contrary, Cotton Mather wrote in his great history of New England Christianity, that sacred place would instead be the center of the divine kingdom, the anticipated New Jesusalem.

Living at a time at once between centuries and eras of theological thinking, Mather was absorbed as no other in apocalyptic thought, and gave it comprehensive expression in this book. The advancing conversion of Indians and Jews, the rise of pietism in Europe, and a perception of decline for the Catholic Church and Catholic interests all suggested to Mather an advancing timetable for the Apocalypse, with the end of the world anticipated first in 1697, later in 1716.

44. Jesuits
Mission de Mojos de la Compañia de IHS de el Peru
[Spain, 1713?]

Jesuit missions in Peru and Chile are shown, as well as a table of statistics for the reductions, or protective communities there. In addition, the martyrdoms of Father Cypriano Baraze in 1702 and Father Balthazar de Espinosa in 1709 are rendered.

Purchased with the assistance of a gift from Artemis Joukowsky

45. Juana Inés de la Cruz
Segundo tomo de las obras
Madrid, 1725

Seventeenth-century Mexico did not offer many opportunities for an intelligent and poetically gifted female. The young woman who would achieve renown as Sor Juana found, for a time, an intellectually stimulating and supportive environment in the monastery. Ultimately stifled by jealousy and prejudice, and felled by an epidemic, she nonetheless achieved a remarkable degree of artistic expression in her vocation as a nun. The self-imposed isolation and focus required to produce volumes of poetry could not have been achieved under the demands of a conventional marriage.

46. Antonio Vieira
Todos sus sermones, y obras diferentes, que de su original Portuguès se han traducido en Castellano
Barcelona, 1734

As a Portuguese missionary to Brazil, a diplomat, and a social reformer, Vieira was one of the great men of the 17th century. His eloquence and gift for writing are conveyed by the pen and books included in his portrait. An embattled advocate for enslaved native Brazilians, Portuguese Jews, and the poor, the Jesuit orator also addressed apocalyptic themes in his *Historia de lo futuro.*

47. Bible. German. Luther. 1743
Biblia, das ist die Heilige Schrift
Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1743

The first Bible in a European language to be published in America was printed by Christopher Sower in 1743. English-speaking

colonists in this period continued to depend on copies imported from London, and the transcontinental book trade was sufficiently adequate for this purpose that no English Bible would be printed here until 1777, when the colonies were at war with England. The volume is open to the prophetic Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, telling of the Five Monarchies. The last monarchy is identified in the editor's caption as the reign of Jesus.

48. George Whitefield
A continuation of the account of the orphan-house in Georgia...To which are subjoin'd, some extracts from an account of a work of a like nature, carried on by the late professor Franck...in Saxony
Edinburgh, 1742

A fruitful transcontinental exchange of letters was conducted between the German Pietist leader August Wilhelm Franke (1663-1727) and Increase Mather (1639-1723) in Massachusetts. Mather was in a position to advise the Germans on the New England missionary experience, while Francke had done pioneering work in education, starting with the orphanage he founded at Halle in 1695. George Whitefield, the great evangelist and founder of Methodism, emulated Francke's achievement by establishing an orphan-house in Georgia in 1740. Whitefield published this report in 1742 on the work on both continents. In his further travels in America and England, Whitefield became noted for his oratory and fervor and secured huge audiences through open-air preaching.

1750

49. *Ausbund, das ist etliche schöne...Lieder*
Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1751

The oldest hymnbook of the Swiss Brethren, called Anabaptists or Mennonites, has its roots in the time of their persecution by Calvinists, Zwinglians, and others in the 16th century. In print from 1564, the hymnal was widely in use by German Mennonites in Pennsylvania and came off the press in Germantown from 1742 on. Mennonites adapted to their more stable American environment by moving on to new German hymn collections in 1803-04, but the

Ausbund remains in print and is used by the Amish to this day. Hymns generally credit individual Mennonite authors and testify to a sense of faith in suffering. Routinely included in this collection are brief accounts of Swiss martyrs and prisoners of conscience, such as Hans, Felix, and Margaretha Landis. The book is open to a hymn about the approaching Apocalypse, when emperors, kings, and princes will be no safer than servants.

50. David Cranz
Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht von der, unter dem Namen der Böhmisch-Mährischen Brüder bekanten, Kirche Unitas Fratrum
[Halle], 1757

Moravians, a group of German pietists based at a settlement in Herrnhut, began their missionary efforts in 1733 by assisting a Danish mission to the Eskimos in Greenland. Soon after, Moravian missionaries would move on to St. Thomas (Virgin Islands) and Suriname, putting special care into their work with indigenous peoples and blacks.

Engraved illustration: At the time of baptism in a black Moravian congregation, a pastor and two deacons perform a rite of exorcism. Three men and four women are to be baptized, the women having removed their headcoverings. Another illustration, here shown in a photograph, records the baptism of Indians.

Photograph: Baptism of native Americans by Moravian missionaries. Men on the left and women on the right await the rite of baptism, while two Indian assistants (identified by the letter C) look on. The German-speaking Moravians established missions in Greenland, St. Thomas (Virgin Islands), and Suriname in the 1730s. Early settlers in Georgia moved on to Pennsylvania in 1740, where three enduring Moravian communities were formed in the course of two decades.

51. Phillis Wheatley
Poems on various subjects
London; sold in Boston, 1773

Born in Gambia and taken as a slave at the age of seven or eight, Phillis was sold to the Wheatley family in Boston and named for the ship that had transported her. The Wheatleys taught Phillis to read, and she

soon demonstrated a literary gift, publishing a narrative poem at the age of twelve. Exposure to George Whitefield, the evangelical preacher important in the First Great Awakening religious revival, inspired a key poem in her career, establishing her literary fame through its multiple editions. Essential to her success was the support of a community of women and the positive attitudes of a number of important men. Her trip to England to see her book through the press in London and her social acceptance there seem to have led directly to her being freed.

52. Olaudah Equiano
The interesting narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, written by himself
New York, 1791

Kidnapped from the Ibo people of Nigeria, Equiano was purchased in Virginia by a merchant marine officer and learned about seafaring life. On a layover in England, he was taught to read and baptized into the Church of England. With the permission of a later Quaker owner, he began his own trading activity and was able in time to buy his freedom. A new sense of identity came with his conversion to Calvinism in 1774, and he made efforts to work as a missionary to other Africans. Dedicated to abolitionism and social change, Equiano wrote an autobiography recounting his many travels and his spiritual development. The work soon went through nine editions and influenced numerous early African-American writers.

53. Brother Lamech
Chronicon Ephratense, enthaltend den Lebens-Lauf des ehrwürdigen Vaters in Christo Friedsam Gottrecht
Ephrata, Pennsylvania, 1786

While monastic life has been a vital part of the Roman Catholic church for centuries, some Protestants with strong millenarian concerns have also been drawn to a communal life apart from the world. The charismatic leader Conrad Beissel formed such a group among German-speaking residents of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the eighteenth century. The printing press introduced there in 1745 was for a time a source of livelihood, as well as advancing the religious and musical expression of these Seventh-Day Baptists. In time,

the largely celibate Ephrata community dispersed, and its medieval-looking buildings are preserved today as a state museum. The Ephrata Chronicle records some of its great moments and struggles.

54. Church of England
[Book of Common Prayer. Mohawk]
The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments...Translated into the Mohawk language
London, 1787

Captain Joseph Brant, a Mohawk Indian converted to Christianity by Anglican missionaries, translated this standard work under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the missionary arm of the Church of England.

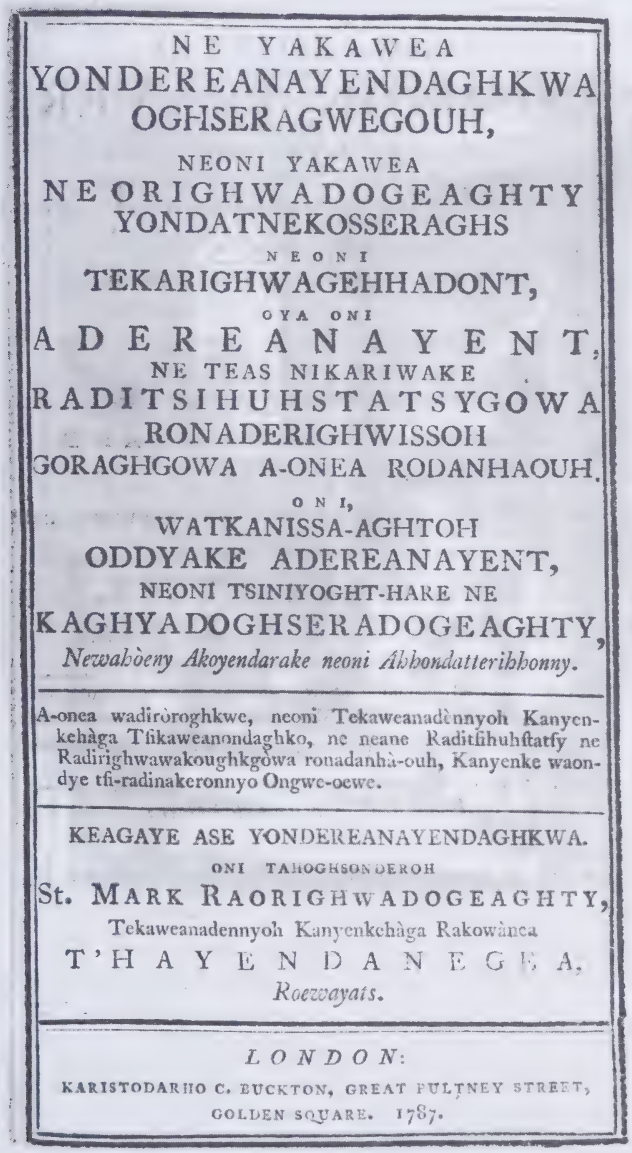
55. *Essai historique sur la colonie de Surinam*
Paramaribo [i.e. Amsterdam], 1788

Brotherly love as taught by Jesus was as difficult an assignment in stratified colonial society as it was in Europe. How native Americans and black slaves responded to the assignment of inferior roles has gone largely unrecorded. However, the discrimination experienced by the Jewish minority in Suriname is related in this historical volume. An insulting name is passed from father to son, from master to slave. In consequence of this prejudice, Jewish homes are not visited by Christians, and Jews are not invited to Christian social gatherings.

David Nassy, a Jewish official and apothecary who heads the list of committee members responsible for this book, is often credited as the author. A prominent member of this Suriname community, Nassy went to North America in 1792 and established himself as a physician in Philadelphia. He moved on to a medical practice in St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies, before returning to an important role in Suriname.

56. Samuel Sherwood
The church's flight into the wilderness
New York, 1776

Revolutionary events between Great Britain and the American colonies are seen as fulfilling Biblical prophecies, especially the Book of Revelation, XII:14-17.



NE YAKAWEA
YONDEREANAYENDAGHKWA
OGHSERAGWEGOUH,
NEONI YAKAWEA
NE ORIGHWADOGEAGHTY
YONDATNEKOSSERAGHS
NEONI
TEKARIGHWAGEHHADONT,
OYA ONI
A D E R E A N A Y E N T,
NE TEAS NIKARIWAKE
RADITSIHUHSTATSYGOWA
RONADERIGHWISSOH
GORAGHGOWA A-ONEA RODANHAOUH.
ONI,
WATKANISSA-AGHTOH
ODDYAKE ADEREANAYENT,
NEONI TSINIYOGHT-HARE NE
KAGHYADOGHSERADOGEAGHTY,
Newahòeny Akoyendarake neoni Ahhondatterihhonny.

A-onea wadirò roghkwe, neoni Tekaweanadènnyoh Kanyenkehàga Tsikaweanondaghko, ne neane Raditsihuhstatsy ne Radirighwawakoughkgòwa ronadanhà-ouh, Kanyenke waondye tsi-radinakeronnyo Ongwe-oewe.

KEAGAYE ASE YONDEREANAYENDAGHKWA.
ONI TAHOGHSONDEROH
St. MARK RAORIGHWADOGEAGHTY,
Tekaweanadennyoh Kanyenkehàga Rakowànea
T'HAYENDANEGEA,
Roewayats.

LONDON:
KARISTODARHO C. BUCKTON, GREAT PULTNEY STREET,
GOLDEN SQUARE. 1787.

No. 54

57. Peter Whitney
American independence vindicated. A sermon delivered September 12, 1776
Boston, 1777

The earliest published address on the Declaration of Independence was written by a Congregational clergyman who had in 1774 called the Tea Tax a "righteous punishment" for "needless luxury." In this sermon, Whitney compared the American cause with that of the righteous in ancient Israel, drawing parallels between King George III and Rehoboam. Yet the bulk of the sermon is based on political theory, arguing that people are discharged from allegiance to a leader who violates their covenant with him. Whitney filled the pulpit in Billerica, Fitchburg, and Dunstable before receiving the lifetime call to the First Church of Northborough, Massachusetts. He conferred with fellow Harvard graduates John Adams and John Hancock while in Philadelphia in June of 1776.

58. United States
[Declaration of Independence]
In Congress, July 4, 1776. A declaration...June 13, 1776
Newport, 1776

The first publication in Rhode Island of the Declaration of Independence came from the press of Solomon Southwick in Newport on July 13, 1776. This is the only known copy of the first "state" of that edition, containing the misprinted date "June 13." The *Declaration* is one of the major political documents of the Western world, but makes its arguments in part through the use of religious language. The American case is presented to the "Supreme Judge of the World" and cites natural rights granted to men by their "Creator." It calls for "reliance on the protection of divine Providence." Revolutionary theorists inherited a conception of moral law as divinely decreed, yet susceptible to understanding through intuitive reason.

Gift of Mrs. Thomas George Hazard, Jr., and Mr. Daniel Lyman Hazard.

1800

The group of engravings that follow was prepared in order to help raise funds to support Moravian missions on the island of Antigua:

59. Johann Heinrich Stobwasser
Ansichten von Missions-Niederlassungen der evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinde. Vues des etablissemens missionaires fondés par la Communauté évangélique des Fréres-Unis
Basel, [1830?]

A. Enclosure for a series of engravings by Hürlimann depicting Moravian missions on Antigua in the West Indies. In the cover illustration, palm trees on a stylized island in the heavens support a book showing citations for prophetic words in the Book of Isaiah (LX: 2-5) and for words of Jesus (Matthew IX: 37-38):

"The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few;
Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest,
that he will send forth labourers into his harvest."

B. View of the mission to St. Johns, Antigua

C. "View of Grace Hill"

D. "View of Grace Bay"

E. "View of Cedar Hall"

Ω

OMEGA: THE ENDING

"I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending."
Revelation I:8

SPECULATION ABOUT THE END OF TIME

60. Hartmann Schedel
[Nuremberg Chronicle]
Register des Buchs der Chroniken und Geschichten
[Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1493]

Two grand images of Apocalyptic expectation are presented in this edition of the *Nuremberg Chronicle.* On the left is the final battle with the Antichrist, while fervent preaching of two kinds goes on below on earth. On the right is the reign of Jesus, the raising of the dead, Judgment Day, and the end of the world. This early illustrated universal history works its way in linear fashion through the Bible and the history of Europe and its neighbors, culminating in predictions of the end of time. This is Koberger's German edition; his Latin edition of 1493 was cited above.

61. Samuel Sewell
Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica ad aspectum Novi Orbis configurata...a description of the New Heaven...upon the New Earth
Boston, 1697

Sewell wrote that the right foot of Jesus was in the New World, having been planted there by Columbus in 1492. But the Old World, where his left foot stood, had lost its instrumental role to America. Thus the "heart" of this land would be the seat of the New Jerusalem. The Spanish realm in the Americas, on the other hand, would be destroyed, as prophesied in Revelation XVI:12, represented as the "drying up" of the Euphrates river. Sewell recognized that there were differences of opinion over whether the Ten Lost Tribes

were America's original settlers, but found it significant that Jews had settled by this time in Barbados, Jamaica, New York, New England, Suriname and Curaçao. He expected these American Jews to become converts much sooner than the Indian nations.

62. Alexandre Perier
Desengano dos peccadores, necessario a todo genero de pessoas, utilissimo aos missionarios
Lisbon, 1735

A Jesuit missionary in Brazil offered in this volume a terrifying vision of the punishments for various sins, each illustrated by a horrific engraving. Perier wrote that the pictorial images were particularly effective in moving Brazilian Indians to confession and baptism. The chapter shown focuses on eternal torment, interpreting the Apocalypse of St. John (Revelation) and other Biblical passages. However effective the four editions of the book may have been in missionary usage, it was later prohibited as heresy by church authorities.

63. *Apocalypse de Chiokoyhikoy, chéf des Iroquois*
Philadelphia [i.e. The Hague?], 1777

The apocalyptic predictions purportedly made by a pre-Columbian Iroquois chief are the subject of this book. Drawing on a rich prophetic tradition, the editorial "commentary" that forms its largest part condemns the exploitation and destruction of American Indians by Europeans and predicts a just victory by the American colonies over Great Britain. The purpose of this tract, a grand effort of colonial propaganda, was evidently to elicit the support of francophone Iroquois.

64. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758)
History of redemption, on a plan entirely original
New York, 1788

Frequently published after the death of the great Congregational clergyman, this work was an attempt to write a great book of theology encompassing all of history (in which the hand of the Divine could be seen). Leader of the First Great Awakening religious

revival, missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and the president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), Edwards was focused on signs of the Millennium, which he thought not far off. The revival of religious fervor, the conversion of Indians, and other signs made it appear for a time to be "probable that this work will begin in America." Edwards speculated about the scientific meaning of comets, and viewed the sun, the stars, and the universe itself as having a life cycle not unlike that of living beings.

65. Joseph Priestley
The present state of Europe compared with antient prophecies; a sermon
London, 1794

A scientist and Presbyterian minister in England, Priestley moved from Calvinist to Unitarian beliefs and supported the aims of the American and French revolutions. His opposition to state-sponsored religion and his association with France led to the destruction of his home and laboratory, and he resettled in rural Pennsylvania. In this sermon linking conditions in Europe with millenarian expectations, Priestley addressed such topics as the second coming of Christ, the importance of the Jews returning to Palestine, and the possibility that Revelation XI: 3 foretold the French Revolution, a matter that would inflame other writers for decades to come.

66. Christian Armbrüster
Die sieben lezten Posaunen oder Wehen
Reading, Pennsylvania, 1820

This manual of apocalyptic religion was published for German readers in southeastern Pennsylvania. It was not written by the well-known mystic, Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling, as claimed on the title page, but by a less familiar theological writer. The naïve woodcut frontispiece portrays the Antichrist as the seven-headed Beast of Revelation XIII. The author interprets prophetic statements in Daniel and Revelation in terms of recent and ancient history, and gives special attention to numerology. Armbrüster predicted November 1837 as the time of the Apocalypse.

Loan from a private collection; another copy is in the John Hay Library

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